

## Message Text

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ORIGIN NEA-03

INFO OCT-01 SS-07 ISO-00 /011 R

66624

DRAFTED BY:NEA/INS:MRARIETTI:MMK/NEA/INS:JELEADER

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO RUMJHT/AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU 1587

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

S E C R E T STATE 204207

LIMDIS

FOL SENT KABUL 7296 OCT 13, 1973 ACTION SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO ISLAMABAD LONDON MOSCOW NEW DELHI TEHRAN REPEATED TO

YOU QUOTE

S E C R E T KABUL 7296

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AF, IR, PK

SUBJECT: AFGHAN-PAK-IRANIAN RELATIONS

REF: (A) KABUL 7242 (NOTAL); (B) ISLAMABAD 8798; (C) STATE  
202064 (NOTAL)

1. WE FULLY SHARE DEPT'S SKEPTICISM ABOUT OUR ACTING AS  
CHANNEL TO SHAH FOR AFGHAN CONCERNS (PARA THREE, REF C).

2. LOOKING OVER RECORD OF AFGHAN DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY IN THE  
PAST WEEKS, WE CONCLUDE:

(A) NAIM'S MISSIONS TO MOSCOW AND NEW DELHI ALMOST CERTAINLY  
DID NOT RPT NOT PRODUCE SOLID COMMITMENTS TO SUPPORT AFGHANISTAN

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ON PUSHTUNISTAN ISSUE. WE BELIEVE AFGHANS AT BEST OBTAINED POLITICAL

ENCOURAGEMENT TEMPERED BY CAUTIONARY STRICTURES ABOUT DANGER OF GETTING IN TOO DEEPLY.

(B) OBVIOUS SIGNS OF CLOSE IRANIAN-PAK COORDINATION ON A TOUGH PAKISTANI DIPLOMATIC LINE, PLUS AT LEAST SOME CONCRETE IRANIAN MILITARY HELP IN BALUCHISTAN, HAS PROBABLY CONVINCED AFGHAN THAT THEY ARE TREADING ON VERY DANGEROUS GROUND AT MOMENT. AT THIS TIME OF CONTINUED INTERNAL CONFUSION AND WEAKENED MILITARY CAPABILITY, PRODUCED BY MASSIVE ARRESTS AND MILITARY REASSIGNMENTS IN WAKE OF "MAIWANDWAL PLOT." GOA CAN ILL AFFORD TO STIMULATE A VIOLENT PAKISTANI REACTION.

(C) GOA DESPERATELY HOPES AVOID SIMULTANEOUS CONFRONTATIONS WITH BOTH IRAN AND PAKISTAN AND HAS NO FUNDAMENTAL DISPUTE WITH IRAN IN ANY EVENT.

(D) GOA IS THEREFORE ATTEMPTING TO SOLICIT US HELP IN TRYING TO DIVIDE IRAN AND PAKISTAN DIPLOMATICALLY IN ORDER SOMEWHAT "EVEN THE ODDS."

3. AFGHANS ARE ATTEMPTING BY DIPLOMATIC BLUFF TO ACHIEVE WHAT THEY CANNOT HOPE TO ACHIEVE AT THIS TIME BY MORE DIRECT METHODS. WE BELIEVE GOA IS GENUINELY FEARFUL OF "PAKISTANI PROVOCATIONS," AND WHETHER TRUE OR NOT ALL TOP GOA OFFICIALS SEEM GENUINELY CONVINCED PAKISTAN WAS BEHIND THE MAIWANDWAL CONSPIRACY. FACT THAT GOA IS NONETHELESS BEING VERY CAREFUL NOT TAKE STEPS HERE WHICH COULD LEAD TO A BREAK IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS SUPPORTS OUR CONVICTION THAT DAOUD CURRENTLY HAS A WEAK HAND TO PLAY. IT CERTAINLY SEEMS TO US UNWISE FOR THE US TO TAKE ANY ACTIONS IN TEHRAN WHICH MIGHT STRENGTHEN IT.

4. AS A FOOTNOTE, TO WHICH EMBASSY TEHRAN UNDOUBTEDLY CAN SUPPLY CORROBORATION, WE ASSUME THE SHAH WOULD BE HIGHLY UNLIKELY TO TAKE ANY ADVICE FROM US VERY SERIOUSLY ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE.

5. CLEARLY, HOWEVER, COMMUNICATION BETWEEN KABUL AND TEHRAN IS VERY UNEASY. WAHID ABDULLAH'S DISTRUST OF AMBASSADOR TAFAZOLI IS NOT UNWARRANTED. NEWLY APPOINTED AFGHAN AMBASSADOR TO TEHRAN ZALMAI GHAZI, FORMER AFGHAN AMBASSADOR IN LONDON AND DAOUD'S SON-IN-LAW, SHOULD PROVE A MUCH BETTER CHANNEL FOR COMMUNICATION ONCE HE IS IN PLACE. IN MEANTIME, WE SEE VALUE IN MAINTAINING A HIGH-LEVEL DIALOGUE WITH SHAH OR OTHER GOI OFFICIALS TO EXCHANGE IMPRESSIONS OF AFGHAN SCENE AND PERHAPS DISPEL SOME EXAGGERATED  
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PERCEPTIONS WHICH SEEM ENDEMIC IN TEHRAN. WE BELIEVE FIRMLY THAT GOA SEEKS OVER LONG RUN CLOSER RELATIONS WITH IRAN AND VALUES IRAN AS AN ALTERNATIVE ECONOMIC ROUTE TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD. ALTHOUGH THE HELMAND WATERS AGREEMENT IS TEMPORARILY SHELVED, THERE ARE A GOOD MANY SIGNS THAT IT WILL EVENTUALLY BE RATIFIED. (THIS CANNOT OF COURSE OCCUR UNTIL AFTER SHAFIQ'S AND ABDUL WALI'S FUTURES ARE DETERMINED, SINCE ALLEGED HANKY-PANKY WITH IRAN ARE APPARENTLY AMONG THE MAJOR CHARGES INVOLVED IN THEIR CASES.) BASIC FACT STILL

REMAINS THAT IRAN'S BEST HOPE FOR AVOIDING THE GREAT INCREASE IN  
SOVIET INFLUENCE HERE WHICH IT LEGITIMATELY FEARS LIES MORE IN  
HOLDING OUT CARROTS TO AFGHANISTAN THAN IN HELPING BHUTTO TO  
WIELD THE STICK AGAINST HIS XENOPHOBIC, EMOTIONAL, CANTANKEROUS  
AND EXTRAORDINARILY PROUD NEIGHBORS. LEWIS UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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## Message Attributes

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